

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BONN 10389 01 OF 03 271042Z

10

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 L-03 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00

NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 ERDA-05 H-02 INR-07

OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02

SS-15 TRSE-00 NSC-05 ACDA-05 BIB-01 CU-02 EB-07 /087 W
----- 079134

O R 271032Z JUN 75

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1042

INFO USMISSION USBERLIN

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 10389

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, GW, WB, US, UK, FR, UR

SUBJECT: CSCE: APPLICABILITY OF FINAL DOCUMENTS TO
BERLIN

REFS: A. STATE 148936

B. USBERLIN 1198

C. BONN 9940

D. GENEVA 4915

BEGIN SUMMARY: AT JUNE 26 BONN GROUP MEETING US AND UK
REPS REPORTED AGREEMENT OF CAPITALS TO PARTICIPATE IN
WORKING OUT SUMMIT STATEMENT CONCERNING APPLICABILITY OF
CSCE RESULTS TO BERLIN AND TABLED COUNTER-DRAFTS TO EAR-
LIER FRENCH DRAFT. FRG REP INTRODUCED NEW ELEMENT INTO
DISCUSSION BY REPORTING FRG-SOVIET AGREEMENT IN GENEVA ON
DESIRABILITY OF A "CHAPEAU" STATEMENT ON THE NEED FOR
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BONN 10389 01 OF 03 271042Z

MAKING CSCE RESULTS EFFECTIVE IN ALL OF EUROPE. THE FRG

HAD ALSO RECEIVED IMPRESSION THAT SOVIETS WOULD NOT REPLY TO THREE-POWER MENTION OF BERLIN IN THE CONTEXT OF SUCH A CHAPEAU STATEMENT. BONN GROUP WILL RETURN TO DISCUSSION OF DRAFT STATEMENTS NEXT WEEK. FURTHER GUIDANCE REQUESTED. END SUMMARY.

1. US REP DREW FROM REF A TO EXPRESS DEPARTMENT'S WILLINGNESS TO COOPERATE IN JOINT ORAL STATEMENTS FOR CSCE SUMMIT AND TO POINT OUT PROBLEMS WITH FRENCH DRAFT (REPORTED IN PARA 4, REF C). NOTING THAT US BELIEVED STATEMENT SHOULD BE MORE OF A POLITICAL THAN A LEGAL NATURE, US REP DISTRIBUTED ILLUSTRATIVE STATEMENT DRAWN FROM USBERLIN DRAFT (REF B). BECAUSE WE DOUBTED THAT GERMAN GERMANS WOULD FIND THE FORMULATION, "WE EXPECT THAT THE WSB WILL BENEFIT...", "STRONG ENOUGH TO MEET THEIR DOMESTIC NEEDS, OPENING SENTENCE WAS MODIFIED TO BEGIN AS FOLLOWS: "WHILE NONE OF THE CSCE DOCUMENTS CAN IN ANY WAY AFFECT FOUR POWER RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES FOR BERLIN, THE WESTERN SECTORS OF BERLIN MUST BENEFIT..." REMAINDER OF USBERLIN DRAFT WAS USED UNCHANGED.

2. TO RECONCILE PARAS 2 AND 3 OF REF A, US REP EXPLAINED THAT, WHILE DRAFT BEGAN WITH REFERENCE TO QRR, DESIRABILITY OF SUCH A REFERENCE WOULD NEED TO BE RE-EXAMINED LATER IN LIGHT OF ADEQUACY OF EVENTUAL DISCLAIMER IN CSCE DECLARATION ITSELF.

3. UK REP (CROMARTIE) REPORTED AGREEMENT OF FCO THAT SOME STATEMENT BY "ONE OR MORE" ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES WOULD BE USEFUL. FCO HAD ALSO CONSIDERED QUESTION OF RESTATING ALLIED POSITION ON QRR AND HAD CONCLUDED THAT, EVEN THOUGH IT WOULD BE ADEQUATELY COVERED IN THE FINAL DOCUMENT, ON BALANCE IT PROBABLY WOULD BE USEFUL TO RESTATE IT. WITH REGARD SPECIFICALLY TO THE FRENCH DRAFT, HOWEVER, THE BRITISH QUESTIONED THE LEAD-OFF

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BONN 10389 02 OF 03 271049Z

12
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00

SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 CU-02 ERDA-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03

OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02

SS-15 TRSE-00 NSC-05 ACDA-05 BIB-01 EB-07 /087 W

----- 079270

O R 271032Z JUN 75

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1043

INFO USMISSION USBERLIN

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 BONN 10389

PHRASE, WONDERING WHETHER THE SUMMIT STATEMENT WOULD ACTUALLY BE SOMETHING THE ALLIES COULD MAKE "IN THE EXERCISE OF THEIR QRR." MOREOVER, SOVIETS MIGHT FIND THIS UNNECESSARILY PROVOCATIVE, AS BY "EXERCISING" QRR WE WOULD BE INCLUDING EAST BERLIN. LONDON ALSO THOUGHT THE FRENCH DRAFT HAD AN "UNDULY LEGAL" FLAVOR, AS WORDING, "ARE ALSO VALID FOR BERLIN," WOULD BE MORE APPLICABLE TO A TREATY. FINALLY, WITH REGARD TO THE SUGGESTED STATEMENT BY THE FRG REPRESENTATIVE (REF C) BRITISH THOUGHT IT WOULD BE TACTICALLY BETTER FOR FRG TO "WELCOME" THE ALLIED STATEMENT(S) THAN TO ASSOCIATE THEMSELVES WITH THEM, AS LATTER WOULD INVITE SOVIET ATTACK. CROMARTIE OBSERVED THAT A WEAK STATEMENT THAT IS NOT REFUTED BY THE SOVIETS IS BETTER THAN A STRONG ONE THAT IS.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BONN 10389 02 OF 03 271049Z

4. CROMARTIE THEN DISTRIBUTED FOLLOWING TEXT FOR ALLIED STATEMENT OR STATEMENTS AIMED AT MEETING ABOVE OBJECTIONS: "SUBJECT TO QUADRIpartite RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES, THE THREE GOVERNMENTS CONSIDER THAT THE DOCUMENTS EMERGING FROM THE CSCE RELATE ALSO TO BERLIN." US REP SAID DEPARTMENT'S OBJECTIONS TO "VALID FOR BERLIN" WOULD PROBABLY APPLY TO "RELATE TO BERLIN" AS WELL.

5. FRENCH REP (BOISSIEU) DEFENDED HIS EARLIER DRAFT

BY NOTING THAT, WHILE WE WERE ALL AGREED THAT CSCE DECLARATION WOULD NOT HAVE THE STATUS OF A TREATY, THAT WAS ESSENTIALLY A QUARREL FOR DIPLOMATS ONLY: IF 35 HEADS OF STATE SIGN A DOCUMENT, IT IS HARD TO ARGUE THAT IT HAS NO LEGAL FORCE. BOISSIEU SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THE PROBLEM WITH A "LEGAL DECLARATION" BUT OBSERVED THAT IN FRENCH THE TERM "VALABLES," WHICH WE HAD TRANSLATED "VALID," IS NOT ONE WITH LEGAL SIGNIFICANCE. UK REP ACCEPTED LATTER POINT BUT SAID HE RATHER LIKED THE US SUGGESTION, "MUST BENEFIT FROM," IN PREFERENCE TO EITHER "ARE VALID FOR" OR "RELATE TO."

6. FRG REP (LUECKING) EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR AGREEMENT OF ALL THREE ALLIES THAT SOMETHING SHOULD BE SAID ABOUT BERLIN AT THE SUMMIT. WITHOUT TAKING A STAND ON ANY OF THE THREE DRAFTS ON THE TABLE, LUECKING EXPRESSED AGREEMENT WITH US THAT CSCE DECLARATION IS NOT A LEGAL ACT BUT A POLITICAL STATEMENT, WITH UK ON THE NEED FOR AVOIDING WORDING THAT MIGHT IMPLY THAT IT IS A TREATY, AND WITH FRENCH ON FACT THAT IT IS USELESS TO DISCUSS WHETHER CSCE DECLARATION IS "LEGAL" OR NOT. HE ALSO AGREED THAT PROVOKING A DISCUSSION ON THE STATUS OF BERLIN WOULD BE UNDESIRABLE, AND THAT DECISION ON WHETHER TO MENTION QRR IN THE SUMMIT STATEMENTS SHOULD BE MADE IN THE LIGHT OF THE WORDING OF THE FINAL DOCUMENTS.

7. LUECKING THEN REPORTED THAT MEYER-LANDRUT, CHIEF OF FONOFF EAST-WEST RELATIONS DIVISION, HAD MET IN GENEVA JUNE 25 WITH SOVIET DELEGATION AND HAD REACHED CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BONN 10389 02 OF 03 271049Z

AGREEMENT THAT, IN THE "CHAPEAU" (WHICH LUECKING UNDERSTOOD TO BE SOMETHING MORE THAN A PREAMBLE BUT SOME KIND OF COVERING DOCUMENT WHICH WOULD CONTAIN A SERIES OF "WHEREAS" AND "CONSIDERING THAT" CLAUSES), THERE MUST BE A CLAUSE SUCH AS THE FOLLOWING: "MINDFUL OF THE NEED TO MAKE THE RESULTS OF THE CONFERENCE EFFECTIVE IN THE WHOLE OF EUROPE..." MAYER-LANDRUT HAD ALSO TOLD THE SOVIETS, ACCORDING TO LUECKING, THAT IN THEIR SUMMIT STATEMENTS THE THREE POWERS WOULD PROBABLY MENTION BERLIN AND REFER TO THAT SENTENCE FROM THE CHAPEAU. HE HAD "GOTTEN THE IMPRESSION" THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD NOT REPLY TO SUCH STATEMENTS. LUECKING SUGGESTED BONN GROUP STUDY THE DRAFTS NOW ON THE TABLE BUT DEFER FURTHER DISCUSSION UNTIL THE BEGINNING OF NEXT WEEK, WHEN THERE WOULD BE FULLER INFORMATION ON THE PROGRESS OF THE CHAPEAU DISCUSSIONS NOW UNDER WAY IN GENEVA.

8. NONE OF OTHER REPS HAD HEARD OF CHAPEAU DISCUSSIONS, (WE HAD NOT YET RECEIVED REF D), NOR WAS THERE CLEAR IDEA AROUND THE TABLE OF HOW IT WOULD DIFFER FROM A PREAMBLE. US REP WONDERED, ON PURELY PERSONAL BASIS, WHETHER LANGUAGE ON WHICH FRG AND SOVIETS WERE SAID TO HAVE AGREED MIGHT NOT TAKE CARE OF PROBLEM AND OBVIATE NEED FOR ANY REFERENCE TO BERLIN IN SUMMIT STATEMENTS. BOISSIEU THOUGHT BOTH MIGHT BE USEFUL BUT QUESTIONED THE POSSIBILITY OF LINKING THE TWO. FOR FRANCE SUCH A LINKAGE WOULD BE NO PROBLEM, BUT HE WONDERED WHETHER

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BONN 10389 03 OF 03 271045Z

16

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00

SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 CU-02 ERDA-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03

OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02

SS-15 TRSE-00 NSC-05 ACDA-05 BIB-01 EB-07 /087 W

----- 079206

O R 271032Z JUN 75

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1044

INFO USMISSION USBERLIN

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 BONN 10389

BRITISH WOULD BE ABLE TO TALK ABOUT BERLIN IN CONTEXT OF "ALL OF EUROPE" WITHOUT ALSO MENTIONING GIBRALTAR. CROMARTIE EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR THAT THOUGHT.

9. UK REP ASKED WHETHER ACTION ON THIS MATTER SHOULD NOT AT SOME POINT BE SHIFTED TO GENEVA. FRG, FRENCH, AND US REPS ALL EXPRESSED BELIEF THAT BONN REMAINED PROPER FOCAL POINT FOR COORDINATION, PARTICULARLY SINCE THE SUMMIT STATEMENTS -- UNLIKE THE QRR FORMULATION FOR THE CSCE DECLARATION -- DO NOT HAVE TO BE NEGOTIATED WITH THE OTHER 31 PARTICIPANTS.

10. COMMENT: ALTHOUGH GERMAN REPORT OF INITIAL SOVIET REACTION WAS ENCOURAGING, ALLIED REPS WERE TAKEN BY SURPRISE AT REVELATION THAT FRG HAD DISCUSSED POSSIBLE CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BONN 10389 03 OF 03 271045Z

ALLIED STATEMENTS ON BERLIN BILATERALLY WITH SOVIETS. BOTH BECAUSE OF NEW INFORMATION ON A POSSIBLE "CHAPEAU" STATEMENT ON "ALL OF EUROPE" AND BECAUSE QRR FORMULATION NOT YET AGREED IN GENEVA, FURTHER DISCUSSION OF SUMMIT STATEMENTS WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN PROFITABLE. DEPARTMENT'S FURTHER GUIDANCE ON THE DRAFTS NOW BEFORE THE BONN GROUP WOULD BE APPRECIATED, IF POSSIBLE BEFORE NEXT BONN GROUP MEETING JULY 1.
HILLENBRAND

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: COLLECTIVE SECURITY, DOCUMENTS, BERLIN QUADRIPARTITE MATTERS, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 27 JUN 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975BONN10389
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750223-0083
From: BONN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t1975067/aaaaafqh.tel
Line Count: 304
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 75 STATE 148936
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 22 APR 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <22 APR 2003 by ElyME>; APPROVED <23 APR 2003 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CSCE: APPLICABILITY OF FINAL DOCUMENTS TO BERLIN
TAGS: PFOR, GE, WB, US, UK, FR, UR, CSCE
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006